7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

572 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munşif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munşif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his pupils and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the 845 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[529] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [532] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has formed already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man 623 council of elders (*'aḍa' shāvarṭyad*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (CXXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (LXII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1300, of which Munşif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Moukhtars* of 1930 (Rondot, 1951, p. 1). Before 1930, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as shaykh.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The Law of 1928 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1500–2500, six members (Rüsher, 1952, p. 28). Since World War II, Mutnjil's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI; A.VIII; A.X; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Rüsher, 1952, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Mutnjil, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khouri* (priest) by everyone in the village but his family, though his children occasionally address him as *bouba* (daddy). *Khouree* (our father), usually *khoura*, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khouri*, *khouriyyah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-doktour* or Doktour Mukhtâl. Here again, his wife was often called *doktourah*. "Doktour" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *hakîm* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "*Al-khouri mithl hakîm.*" ("The priest is like a doctor.")

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kaamie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
132 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
184 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubya and Sakrakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dirt road more
494 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kaamie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
491 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
655 elected to office and is composed of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or sponsor and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such aspirations is not known.

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A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident land-owners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the village [illegible]. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (beidar). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed (either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the coastal area, the villagers in El-Ghuziyah and El-'Addwaniyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Nejarriyah volunteer village labor helped to build a new road from the dei'ah to the Saida-Beirut highway. 496

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over LL. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the coastal village of El-Ghuziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

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TABLE I

Village Councils

Kamed Rural Improvement Project

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623

Name of Defter	Name of Mukhtar	Number of Years in Office	Number on Board of Advisors
Project Area			
Sarafand	Haidar Khalaifah	10	6
Sukuniyah	Muhammad Hussein 'Aliwa	6	6
Lwaiziya	Ali Sami El-Ariad	2	2
En-Nmeiriyah	Shahoun Ahmad Yassin	3	2
'Aliwa	'Ali H. Wahbah	7	6
Coastal Area			
El-Ghaziyah*	Muhammad 'Aliwa Khalaifah	2	6
En-Naqqariyah	As'ad Tawaf	10	2
El-'Adaiwiyah	Jirjis Daghir	2	none

* El-Ghaziyah has a municipal government as well as a mukhtar and board of advisors.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES

63/ Until 1928 the administration of unincorporated towns and villages of the Lebanon was carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of November 8, 1864, and January 21, 1871.[1] On January 13, 1928, a new code was promulgated under the title *Loi des Moukhtars*,[2] which forms the present basis of village organization and administration.

Under this law every community of at least fifty inhabitants is administered by a moukhtar and a council of elders.[3] Under the law of 1928, as under the Turkish regime, these officials were elected but by Décret-Loi No. 5 of February 8, 1930, provision is made for their appointment by the Minister of the Interior upon the nomination of the administrator of the district.[4]

Composition of Council of Elders.

63.1 [64] The councils are composed of from two to six members under the presidency of the moukhtar. There are two members in villages of less than 500 inhabitants, four in villages having from 500 to 1500, six in towns of more than 1500.[5] In towns of more than 2500, the quarters are organized separately with their own moukhtar and council. New quarters may be constituted only by decree of the Minister of the Interior.[6]

Tenure of Office.

63.2 63.3 The moukhtar and councillors hold office for a period of four years and are eligible for reelection or reappointment.[7] The candidates must be registered voters in accordance with the provisions of the national electoral law[8] and domiciled in the village or quarter which they represent. They must be at least twenty-five years of age and able to read and write. If there are no literate eligible

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1 Young, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 39-40.
2 Jour. Off., No. F. 438, p. 4.
3 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 2.
4 Jour. Off. No. F. 539. The electoral procedure under the 1928 law was the same as for the election of municipal councils [illegible] that an declaration of candidatures was required.
5 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 4.
6 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 5.
7 Ibid., Art. 7.
8 *Supra*, p. 5.

persons in the village, the literacy qualification may be waived for the councillors, but the *mukhtār* must then be selected from a neighboring village.[1]

The *mukhtār* must be appointed from the dominant sect and the seats on the council are allocated among the different sects by the same procedure followed in the organization of municipal councils.[2]

No one may hold the office of *mukhtār* or councilman in more than one locality at the same time. Father and son, father and son-in-law, brothers, or brothers-in-law may not sit simultaneously in the same council nor in councils of different quarters of the same town.[3]

Powers of Council.

The council deliberates with the *mukhtār* on all questions of general organization and administration. They must countersign with the *mukhtār* (1) all certificates of sale or transfer of real estate; (2) certificates of identity of buyers and sellers attesting their compliance with the requisite legal conditions and their freedom from compulsion; (3) certificates concerning the holders of land held without title. They act as an assessment commission for the repartition of the harvest tithe among the inhabitants.[4]

Powers of Mukhtār.

The *mukhtār* presides over the council of elders. He has general powers with regard to public security, finances, land registration, agriculture, health and hygiene, justice, and education.[5]

In matters of general administration and public security he is responsible for the publication of the laws and regulations. He issues official certificates of identity and good character and attests the fulfillment of tax requirements and freedom from judicial process. He must keep the central government informed of local incidents which might lead to a disturbance of the public peace and security.[6]

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1 Loi des Municipes, loc. cit., Art. 8.
2 Ibid., Art. 10 and Supra, p. 4.
3 Ibid., Art. 11.
4 Ibid., Art. 17.
5 Ibid., Art. 18.
6 Ibid., Art. 19.

He is responsible for persuading the inhabitants to enroll their children in the schools. He supervises the protection of antiquities and must notify the proper authorities of any cases of vandalism or theft perpetrated thereon.[1] 422

Miscellaneous Provisions.

The mukhtars and councillors serve without pay. However, the former is authorized to charge a fixed fee for his services in issuing the various certificates required for his office. This fee is set by the central government. Although he retains the money, he must keep strict account of all such receipts on forms prescribed by the Ministry of Finance. He is forbidden to accept any recompense other than the authorized fees.[2] 422 423

A mukhtar may not absent himself from his village for more than ten days without prior authorization from the administrator. During his absence, he is replaced by the senior member of the council of elders.[3]

In case of any fault committed by either a mukhtar or a council member in their official capacities an investigation is made by the administrator who reports thereon to the Minister of the Interior. The latter may institute judicial action against the accused, who may not be reinstated in office unless acquitted and absolved.[4]

No preliminary authorization is required by third parties for the institution of judicial suit against a mukhtar or councilman for an offense committed outside of his official capacity.[5]

With regard to all other matters of local administration and control the towns and villages are under the authority of the Minister of the Interior acting through the administrators and kaimakams with the advice and assistance of the various administrative councils.[6] 431

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1 Loi des Moukhtars, loc. cit., Art. 19.
2 Ibid., Art. 20.
3 Ibid., Art. 24.
4 Ibid., Art. 25.
5 Ibid., Art. 26.
6 Decret-Loi No. 5, June, 1930, Sta. F. 179